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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

**Old Man Schneider**

**Atterbury "Company Union"  
Camouflage**

**Making Your Life Longer**

**Bill Goes Back**

**W. E. B. and Brookwood Lessons**

**Brother Brown on Hon. Cornflake**

\$2.50 per Year

# Labor Age

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The National Monthly

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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## WORKERS' EDUCATION AND STRIKES

CLINTON GOLDEN, field agent for Brookwood Workers' College, is going into West Virginia. He goes to observe the strike which is on there. He goes to tell the battling West Virginians something of the aid which practical workers' education has been to the miners of District 2.

LABOR AGE feels proud of the part it has played in the inauguration of the type of education such as District 2 is carrying out so successfully. It is not academic education to any degree. It is pragmatic. It is taking the miners in the problems of today and working out the problems of tomorrow. We are rejoiced to note the splendid fruits which have come from Paul Fuller's work, under the guiding encouragement of John Brophy. It was to our office that Fuller first came, when about to launch his work—and it was in our office that he was encouraged to take up the work in the way he did it.

According to a press notice, Fuller is conducting prayer meetings on the hillsides at Sagamore, Pa., for the black strike-breakers from the South. The prayers are having effect. So are the Labor Chautauquas which Fuller has worked out so well, and to which we have given much attention in the past.

"What has Workers' Education to do with strikes?" some timid souls may ask. Much, we answer. More than much. Workers' education has

everything to do with strikes, if it is really workers' education. If it does not prepare the workers as a mass the better to strike, the better to gain control of industry, the better to know when to strike and when to wait—then, it is not workers' education. It is merely adult education—which the public night schools could give as well.

The swivel chair and the quiet retreat of the library are lovely places from which to spin dreams of milleniums, but it is in the pragmatic field of the workers' trench warfare that workers' education—even for a part of the millenium—will be worked out. It is the man and woman who know vividly of the forces the workers are up against, who realize what leadership in strikes mean, who have had some part in responsibilities of leadership and battle, that will—by and large—do the real job of workers' education.

Let us have more pragmatic workers' education—not all of one pattern, since circumstances are different in different places. But the real test is, everywhere: "Does this aid the workers to win—in strikes, in industrial control, in the bringing about of real industrial democracy?" If the answer is "yes," then the answer is: "That is workers' education." And the answer in District No. 2 is emphatically "yes."



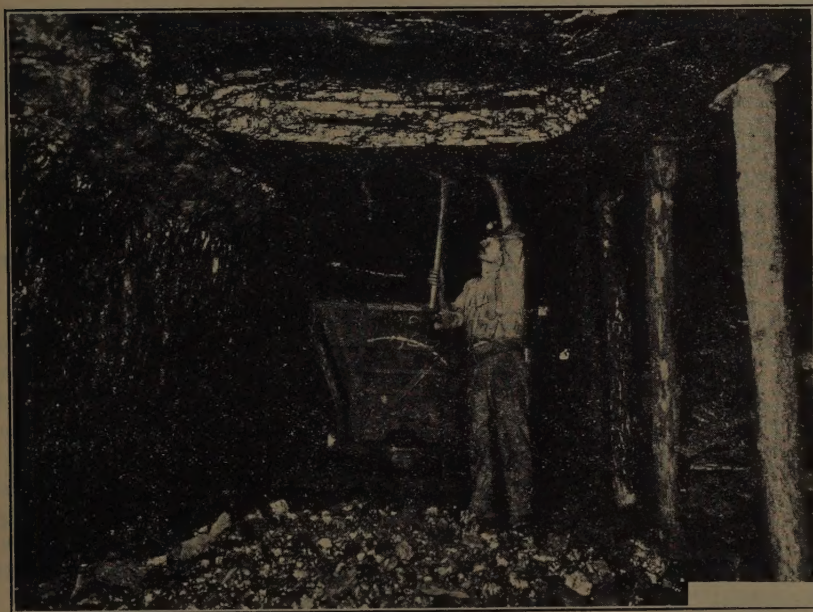
# Labor Age

The National Monthly

## Old Man Schneider

*Fragment From a Tramp "Through the Anthracite"*

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ



### WORTH \$35 A WEEK?

This hard coal miner, testing a bad ceiling in the mine, is in danger of injury or death—as are his brothers in the anthracite, always. The operators contend this work is not worth \$35 a week!

**S**TORM clouds. Thousands of them. Gathered in a menacing mass of lead across the sky.

Against them, as though in surly challenge, towered a solitary breaker, as elevated and majestic as an old Moorish citadel—dull leaden itself in the uncertain light of evening time and the coming storm. Below it: more lead—in the mountain of culm that seemed to flow from it and form another bank of frowning cloud.

For the eyes of the traveller, trudging along the highway toward Hazleton, there would have been

no way to distinguish between the temporary slate of the heavens and the permanent slate of the earth, save the strip of dazzling yellow light that divided one from the other and made for the only bit of brightness in the scene.

He hitched up his knapsack and camera to his back, as though he were about to hurry on. But a yard to the left attracted him—and in the most indolent manner, he made his way around two pools of muddy water, to reach the fence of that yard and peer through the wire netting. The threat of the

tempest was forgotten, as he gazed upon—a herd of mules.

This animal of patience and stubbornness—the companion of the miner in those long, dark days underground when he learned something of patience and stubbornness on his own account—is now giving way to the onrush of the machine. It is a matter of a few years until the mule will have disappeared from the mining picture. But, as it is, he still remains a barometer of those other leaden tempests in anthracite—lockouts and strikes—which will be periodic occurrences, as long as the Honorable Bilius Billions and their attorneys, the Right Honorable Bumptius Billingsgates, keep their hands on a common, human necessity.

The traveller counted and recounted these descendants of Balaam's Ass, to hazard a guess as to how many came from underground. It is a by-word in the anthracite—amounting almost to a superstition—that the bringing of the mules from below the earth means a long strike. If they remain below, in their darkened chambers, the dispute will be short. So, our indolent traveller counted and re-counted them, until their keepers emerged from a great barn on the premises and drove them in for the night.

#### The Traveller is Lost

By the time he regained the highway, the storm was coming at him in real earnest. That slit of yellow had faded out, and the black above and the black below had merged in a general inkiness. Water and wind were engaged in a common task of wetting and harrassing him. Automobiles passed him by, driving him to the side of the road and splashing his boots with mud. No one halted to offer a lift, being too intent in their own comfort and their own fears to play the Good Samaritan.

By reason of the wind and rain and the erratic conduct of the hurrying machines, he got lost in a short time on a side pathway, and found his boots crunching over a road of slate and culm. Weary as he now was and indolent as he always seemed to be, he did not pause to retrace his steps, but took what looked to be the easier way—toward a crowded collection of shacks, which could be made out by the dim lights visible in their windows.

Stumbling along, he came upon a fence—that is what "they" called it—which to his fingers, groping for a gate, felt like a stockade. One rough board pressed against the other—with none of the light and air for the men that was so generously provided for the mules. By dint of pulling this board and that, he located and unlatched the gate—to sprawl

headlong a moment later against the platform of the common well for some dozen "houses." A flash of lightning revealed the cause of his downfall, and also allowed him to pull himself together.

His knock at the first hut brought a man to the door.

"Come in, come in," the lord of the castle invited, in a barbarously foreign accent.

"Do you welcome tramps?" inquired the indolent traveller, smiling, and still standing before the open doorway, in the rain.

"Yah, yah," came the response, "anybody on a night like this. Ve make no distinctions. Ve may be tramps ourselves sometime."

So he entered—a small and crowded room, lit by an oil lamp, which could not reach all the corners. The smell and smoke of cooking came from some room beyond—third and last of the hut, he discovered later. Before a table covered with oilcloth sat a little man, with a corn-cob pipe in his mouth, winking and blinking in a sort of humorous way—at him, at the children who flocked to the door of the inner room as the traveller stepped in, at the empty wine glasses on the table.

"You're no tramp," said the little man, winking and blinking at him.

"How do you know?" inquired the traveller.

"By the camera," answered the little man. "We are seeing a lot of them about here now. They're doing a lot of picture-taking for the newspapers."

#### Part of a Man

With that fact established, they sat him down—and a handsome young woman, coming at the call of the lord of the castle, brought him some steaming soup, hot not merely from the fire but also from the peppers in it.

While supping this repast, he beheld for the first time in the corner near the inner door, a figure in a rocking chair. He was not sure what it was—but finally made it out to be part of a man. The discovery made him start. A part of a man! A torso and head, but no arms and legs—and no eyes in the head where eyes should be.

The little man followed his gaze. "Ah!" he said, "that's Old Man Schneider."

"Old Man Schneider!" gasped the other, rather weakly.

"Yes, Old Man Schneider. Do you want to hear about him?"

Of course, he wanted to hear. And so the little man, winking and blinking, told the tale. It was not a pretty tale—but it's one of the epics of the



anthracite. It is one answer to the stuff and nonsense that the Billions and the Billingsgates pour out upon the "public," as they hug their profits and their prostitutes on the Riviera and the sands of Florida.

Schneider, as is the way of all flesh, was not always "the Old Man." He had been younger and strong and hearty. He was a good natured German—as good a miner as the anthracite had ever seen.

He reared an ample family—of sons and daughters, who grew up and married in time, as is the way of most flesh, and raised families of their own. As age stole on him, he continued to mine coal, and seemed none the worse for it.

#### A Mighty "De Profundis"

None the worse, perhaps, until one day some years ago. From out of the depths of the mine in which he worked, there arose a mighty De Profundis. Explosion followed explosion. The entrails of the mine were torn into bits; and Schneider was torn with them.

When the rescue work was over with, and the long months of the pains of hell in the Miners' Hospital had passed—Schneider emerged, as he is today: a part of a man.

"And now," summed up the little man," we see him always on pay days, coming to the mine, to get little donations from the miners. That's the way he gets by and can go on a-living."

A-living! Without limbs or eyes. Without the means for the good-natured joviality of life, which was his to the full in the old days. A human husk. A living—death.

Wide-eyed, the traveller continued to stare into the shadows of the hidden corner, at the almost motionless trunk and head that lay there. He felt something like the horror of a nightmare come over him—in which Old Man Schneider, mangled and bleeding, multiplied in size a thousand-fold, became the embodiment of the anthracite miner—30,000 of whose brothers are maimed or injured, with a hurt great or small, in one season of 12 months.

And while he sat there, in this sweating terror, to think of what coal exacts from these husks that once were men, the Honorable Biliuses and the Right Honorable Bumptiuses—through their mouthpiece, the Honorable John Hays Hammond—were asking that the safety laws in anthracite be repealed. And if he could have sat there longer, for another month or so, they would have been saying to the dumb and dullard "public"—as they have lately been saying—

that they will not let any one see their profits, that wages had no relation to profits, that the miners were at fault because they would not have some of the Honorable Biliuses or Right Honorable Bumptiuses or Honorable Hammonds decide their fate for them. Seventeen hundred dollars a year—or \$35 a week—is the average reward which these men who may become husks now receive.

The Honorable Bilius or the Right Honorable Bumptius, his attorney, frequently receive \$1,700 an hour—by virtue of having got hold of lands at some time in the past, which belong to all the people and hold fuel which all the people need. These profits they do not mean to show to the public, and therefore will make no peace. While they set up a great cry against the miners, who want the "public" to know the truth—because the truth will set both miners and the "public" free.

And the only dangers known that the Honorables mentioned run, is that in the spending of their \$1,700 per hour, they will wreck their bodies with fevers and their souls with torture through injudicious use of the forbidden fruits which the Riviera or the sands of Florida may offer.

#### Where "Scabs" Cannot Come

And had the traveller sat there for another month he would have still seen these men who may become husks, 160,000 strong, standing out against the attempt to tyrannize over them—fighting the battle not only for themselves but for the "public"—without a murmur, without a show of irritation, without a semblance of disturbance throughout the land of anthracite. Where the strikebreaker cannot come, the gunman has no business—and the operators cannot call upon these gentry with profit. How strong is the contrast with West Virginia—where the strikebreaker can come, and where the gunman and violence flourish—in the person of the state police, the deputy sheriffs and the other vermin of the "Law."

The Honorables mentioned want violence and the gunman. They care not if more human husks are produced thereby. They want the repeal of the safety laws, because under these laws raw strikebreakers cannot come into this dangerous industry.

Never, more than in the example of these 160,000 men standing with folded arms in anthracite, has such eloquent proof been given of the necessity of the legislation which the A. F. of L. supports—forbidding the importation of strikebreakers from state to state. That would spell peace—the peace in the midst of war which exists in the anthracite.

Vaguely, the indolent traveller heard the droning

## WHERE IS THE "DEAR PUBLIC" NOW?

**O**FT have we heard, in the past, the employers' wail about the "dear public" at time of strike or lockout? Having robbed that body of noble noddleheads to the limit, it has been amusing to note the interest which the coal operators and others suddenly find in them, when industrial troubles come along.

*In recent conferences on the Anthracite situation, the Miners have suggested:*

1. *That Governor Pinchot's impartial program for settlement be accepted. The Operators said, NO.*
2. *That newspaper reporters be allowed into the conferences, in order that the "public" might get the full facts thereon. The Operators said, NO.*
3. *That profits be made public, and wage discussions be interwoven with a consideration of the profits made by this hard-boiled monopoly. The Operators said, NO.*
4. *That the price of coal not be advanced, until the whole affairs of the industry be looked into—including whether wages and profits are fair. The Operators said, NO.*

*Where the devil, we are moved to ask, does the "dear public" come in anyway, in the Operators' dictionary? It doesn't come in, friends, except as a catch-phrase. What care they about anyone but themselves?*

voice of the little man: "Ye-es, we have lots of accidents up here. That's why we have seven miners' hospitals just up here in the anthracite. And there's lots of funny stories, too, about that. There's Pat Given, who got a glass eye through a mine accident. Pat was a fighter. Whenever he got mad, he took out his glass eye and put it on the bar and said, 'Now it's your move.' One day a traffic cop owed him five dollars, and Pat told him he must pay up or suffer the consequences. The cop did not pay.

Well, when he saw Pat coming down the street without his glass eye, he just up and beat it from the corner, leaving the traffic go any way it would."

Until the heat and the soup and the sing-song tone of the little man, winking and blinking, sent the indolent traveller off to sleep. He awoke with a start—and accepted the offer of the lord of the castle to a stuffy bed in the corner where Old Man Schneider had been, before the indolent traveller had fallen afoul of sleep.



# Making Your Life Longer

By PHILIP ZAUSNER



**DANGER!**

Not only in the picturesque steel mill—with its thousands of unorganized workers exposed to accident and disease—does danger lurk. It comes to the granite cutter, breathing in dust from the stone he cuts; to the painter, with his years shortened from lead poisoning; to the worker, exposed without safeguards, to tetra-ethyl gas. Again has the unorganized worker won protection against these hazards from an agency of Organized Labor—the Workers' Health Bureau, a bit of whose history is told below.

**D**ISEASE, which shortens life, is knocking every day at the door of the American worker. It is knocking ever louder. Among granite cutters, for example, the death-rate from tuberculosis alone has risen 144 per cent. from 1895 to 1918. The death-rate among these workers from t.b. is five times that of the population at large. The disease comes directly out of the work itself—exposure to clouds of dust from the stone causing untold suffering and needless loss of life.

Since the Great War new dangers have been added for the worker in the introduction of new poisons in many industries. Not the least of these is benzole. Millinery workers, those working in rubber or at sealing tin cans, painters, dry cleaners and workers in many other trades are endangered by this powerful solvent. City, state and nation have paid but little heed to these warnings, and benzole is allowed to continue its deadly work. Workers lose health and life from it. Nothing would be done about this save for the Workers' Health Bureau, located in

New York City, and established to help Organized Labor combat industrial disease. On behalf of organized labor throughout the country, the Workers' Health Bureau issued the warning against this poison, sent out information describing the danger and initiated a campaign to prohibit the use of benzole. Recently the National Safety Council, which is an employers' organ, issued a report indicating the seriousness of the benzole hazard. On page 4 of this report the following quotation appears:

"A year ago we reported that during the first two years of our study we had obtained data in regard to 15 deaths and 82 other non-fatal cases of poisoning, occurring in 24 different plants. During the present year we have made no attempt at a systematic canvass of new cases. At least seven fatal cases (including both acute and chronic types) have, however, been brought to the attention of the committee as occurring during the first nine months of 1925, indicating how grave the problem is."

On page 15 of the same report the committee continues: "We are forced to conclude that the use of Benzole (except in enclosed mechanical systems) even when the workers are protected by the most complete and effective systems of exhaust ventilation . . . involves a substantial hazard." There can be no doubt as to the need for prohibiting the use of this poison.

## "Loony Gas"

Then, there is tetra-ethyl lead, which has been introduced to mix with gasoline. Not so long ago—in October, 1924, the New York papers carried big headlines telling of the death of 11 men and the poisoning of 113 others in the space of 17 months by what was popularly called "loony gas." Six cases occurred in the Bayway plant of the Standard Oil Co., where tetra-ethyl lead was being manufactured for use with gasoline—known as "ethyl gas." Additional workers were sacrificed at the General Motors plant at Dayton, Ohio—the Du Ponts, Standard Oil and General Motors having formed a new corporation to manufacture tetra-ethyl lead. The mowing down of workers without warning, and the threat of insanity and death from this lead compound was alarming.

The public did not know, as a matter of fact, that the menace of "ethyl gas" was not confined to the



workers making it. They did not know that the sale of the gas and the use of it on the highways might also imperil the lives of the gas station workers, of truck drivers, chauffeurs, garage workers, motorists and pedestrians along the way who breathe in fumes from the exhaust of the passing machines. It was estimated that about 50,000 tons of lead would be distributed over the streets of this country if ethyl gasoline were substituted for straight gasoline. Here lay the threatened danger to the public.

The Workers' Health Bureau took a leading part in conducting a widespread agitation against this deadly poison. In letters to labor unions throughout the country, the Bureau urged the voicing of immediate demands that state health departments and industrial commissions investigate the manufacture and use of tetra-ethyl lead, and that workers be protected against this hazard.

### "Off the Market!"

The Bureau further demanded that ethyl gasoline be immediately withdrawn from public sale, and that any conference called upon the subject should include representation of organized workers, and any investigation made should be paid for out of public funds, not by the corporation interests, as was the case in preliminary reports. Drs. Alice Hamilton and Paul Reznikoff, co-operating with Grace M. Burnham, Director of the Workers' Health Bureau, in an article written in May, 1925, made a scientific analysis of the hazard involved. The analysis challenged the conclusions previously put forth by the U. S. Bureau of Mines, that there was no danger in the use of this poison.

The agitation told. A preliminary conference was held in Washington on May 20, 1925, under the auspices of the United States Public Health Service. At this conference the oil and automobile industries were represented, public health officials, scientists and also the American Federation of Labor and the Workers' Health Bureau. A resolution demanding that tetra-ethyl gasoline be immediately taken from the market until a committee of scientists could investigate its dangerous qualities, was fought tooth and nail by the oil interests. The Standard Oil Company claimed that it had temporarily withdrawn ethyl gasoline from public sale. Thereupon a compromise resolution was agreed to in which "this conference endorsed as wise the decision of the Ethyl Corporation to discontinue temporarily the sale of ethyl gasoline." This saved the face of the company.

The committee of experts was appointed to in-

vestigate the tetra-ethyl question and on January 19th its report will be made public at another conference in Washington. The Workers' Health Bureau will participate, and report back to labor on the findings disclosed and recommend the action necessary.

### Against Poisons and Dusts

Enough has been done by the Workers' Health Bureau to show of what value to the workers, organized and unorganized, is the activity it is carrying on. It is another sample of the fight Organized Labor is ever making which also benefits the unorganized worker. Perhaps the majority of the workers exposed to tetra-ethyl gas directly, are not members of Organized Labor. And yet, it is a bureau maintained by Organized Labor which carries on the battle for their defense as well as for its own, demanding protection when public bureaus are slow to act and private corporations greedily prefer profits to the safety and welfare of workers.

This attack on tetra-ethyl lead, in defense of workers' lives, is merely a current example of the things the Bureau is doing all the time, and clearly brings to the fore the importance of the Bureau's program to bring about control of all occupational poisons before, not after workers' lives are sacrificed. The Workers' Health Bureau was the chief factor in winning the 40-hour week for the New York painters, and it is now conducting a campaign for securing a uniformly high standard of Workmen's Compensation Laws to cover accidents and all occupational diseases and assisting local unions in handling compensation claims for their members. The Bureau is also working out regulations for union action to control the hazards which slaughter 2,500 lives every year among the miners, through accidents that can be prevented. It is acting in defense of the tubercular-cursed granite cutters and the workers in other dusty trades. It is taking these steps, after scientific study of the health-dangers in these industries, carefully analyzed with the aid of the leading experts in industrial hygiene. These things are largely known to the readers of *LABOR AGE*. They are again mentioned in the hope that other unions than those now co-operating with the Bureau will rally to it, support its work and secure its aid in meeting the health problems in their own trades and callings.

Why should you not live as long as the most bloated aristocrat? There is no reason in the world why you should not. By organized effort we can drive out the hazards in industry and make work safe for those who labor.



# Big Bill Goes Back

By MARGARET DANIELS

**B**IG BILL HUTCHINS is an iron-moulder by trade and a leader by the grace of his two fists and a happy-go-lucky, courageous, lovable personality. He had fought his way up to the head of his local union in a little Mid-West town when the urge came on him to take a course in workers' education in the east. He obeyed that impulse. That was six months ago. Now he is going back home, a bitterly disillusioned, unhappy young giant, very much "off" anything that smacks of education. He is one of the tragic failures of the new adventure in adult education. For he will be sure to give the movement a black eye wherever he goes. And his influence among his fellows is not to be sneezed at. Bill is bound to go on up in the labor movement.

Just what was the matter with Bill and the sort of workers' education that he found awaiting him? The writer has studied this case and several others like it and is convinced that no such easy answers as "Bill wasn't the type to send," or "He hadn't the mind for it," or "He was too old for that sort of thing" will suffice in this instance.

You have to dig back a bit into Bill's background if you want to arrive at any really satisfactory conclusions. In the first place, while Bill was an industrial worker, an "urban proletariat," if you please, his is by no means a workshop psychology. Bill and hundreds of other workers like him have never been thoroughly mechanized. Small town dwellers—much of the content of farm life, many of the superstitions, prejudices, habit-patterns of the men who live outdoors under sun and wind stick to Bill and his pals wherever they go, whatever their trades. The fields came close to the homes of Bill and his neighbors and beyond the fields there were hills full of trees, arched by racing clouds. Every Saturday the farmers came to town, put up their teams at the hitch-rack and mingled with the Main Street crowds. Bill had a little car and in the summer when work was slack he and his buddies would go camping down Cedar Creek, spend glorious days fishing or lying sprawled in the grass and sleep at night under the dancing stars. He was happiest at such times. The hum of the workshop was far away then and he had time to dream of the great things he would do when he had drunk at the well of education in the far-

away east and come back to lead the others to new freedom.

## Bill Had a Wife

I forgot to say that Bill had a wife. The marital feature of his background was a big, brown-eyed, energetic woman of twenty-five, proud enough of Bill's achievements, a good enough woman (there was the time when she beat the wife of a scab over the head during an altercation in Smith's Emporium), but very anxious to have Bill get on and make enough so that he and she could move to Peoria. To her Peoria was another Paris. There they could have the next best make to the car they now owned, entertain a bit, step out in a world of moving pictures, parties, perhaps, who knows? Even golf.

When Bill returned from a camping trip to tell her that he was going to school in the east, she thought at first he had been sampling some new sort of home brew. Then when she was convinced that he was in sober earnest, she had fleeting visions of Bill on the football team at Yale or Harvard with herself on the sidelines cheering him on to fresh victories.

But when Bill went on and explained that she was not to accompany him on this quest and that the end of it all was nothing more than that everlasting trades-unionism business the resulting storm kept Bill sticking around the pool room instead of going home from work, for several harassed nights. Of course after it had been arranged that she was to be taken care of during Bill's educational absence and that Bill was to come home for the Christmas holidays, she became a bit more reconciled, though retaining the privilege of commenting satirically on her "dear little school-boy husband," "here comes teacher's pet," etc.

Not only were all these conflicting elements in Bill's background unknown to the earnest men and women in charge of the labor college, who received the big iron moulder warmly enough on his arrival, but no particular attempt was made to ferret them out. Bill in his new element was instantly suspicious and inarticulate. He wasn't going to blab about himself and his troubles and dreams and aspirations to anybody. Finding himself thrown in the company of keen-minded, cosmopolitan young city workers,



## BANANA OIL—AND A FIVE-DAY WEEK

**L**IFE is three-fourths lost if your health is gone. Industry destroys health, but it has done nothing to give to the worker recompense for the loss. And almost any sort of recompense would fail to make up for health permanently wiped out.

Poison and painting have long been partners. The painter has been hit by industrial disease much more than most other craftsmen. Again, into the breach, union labor has had to jump, in order to do something to protect the life and health of the man who is exposed to lead, benzol, banana oil and other like poisonous materials.

Legislation against certain poisons is one of the steps being taken. In this the men are assisted technically by the Workers' Health Bureau, which has done much during the past few years to draw public attention to the serious consequences of unchecked use of dangerous materials.

This Bureau again emphasizes a further necessity in the fight against the effects of benzol and other new poisons, concealed in banana oil

and paint. This is the five-day week. As Dr. Alice Hamilton, the noted authority on industrial disease puts it, "The painter's work is an important factor in his health. It is easy to explain for it is just a mere sum in arithmetic. The more hours a man is exposed to poison, the bigger dose he will get. The shorter the time he has in between doses, the less chance he has to get rid of the poison." Again: "Your system must get rid of the poisons that your work exposes you to. Little by little, gradually and steadily, and that means no overtime, no rush of work. I should say no six-day week. You must have a chance to get rid of the poison that enters the body so that it won't accumulate, because it does serious harm when it accumulates."

The season for new contracts in the building trades is near at hand. The public should know of the deep importance of decent working conditions for the painter—with ample protection at work and a short work-week to allow him to throw off, to a degree at least, the effects of industrial poison.

recruited from the needle trades with European backgrounds about as different from Bill's as Peoria differs from Prague, he called up his defense mechanisms and when he wasn't sulking in baffled silence he was indulging in hard-boiled tactics that would have surprised even his none too refined companions in the iron foundry back home.

## "Kid" Stuff

You can easily imagine what happened. Bill was asked to take part in dramatics and being a highly self-conscious person instantly decided that this "kid" stuff was not for him. He had never been taught to study, had no reading habits and discovered to his horror that education instead of being the capsule-taking performance that he had been led to believe, required a vast amount of time spent in reading books "written up" by a bunch of college professors whose backs would break after one day's work at the foundry.

What could they know about the labor movement? What was all this yawp about class-consciousness, collective bargaining and the rest? Bill knew how to get a wage raise from the boss long before he came east. You either got it right away

or went on strike and yelled at scabs and that was that. And besides why should he, a grown-up man, head of his local union, have to read about this stuff in books? And all the while the letters from home were becoming more and more insistent that Bill come back to his "little girl" or did he have a sweetheart in the east?

So Bill has gone back and all the sacrifice and hard thinking and superb devotion to an ideal of those earnest men and women go for naught.

Is this story of Bill, (a true one with necessary changes of names and localities) an indictment of workers' education? Is it a plea for a more careful selection from among the applicants to our labor schools? Is it a wail of despair over the chances of ever doing anything for the Bills of the labor world?

It is none of these. It is rather a challenge to all of us who are interested in workers' education to come to grips more firmly with the realities of our job. The Bills can and will be salvaged. That the process may require a rehauling of such machinery as we have at hand seems to me to be unquestioned. In later articles in this series, I will try to suggest the outlines of a technique for keeping Bill from going back.



# Brookwood's Pages

*American Labor in the War and Post-War Period*

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

**T**HIS Department is to be conducted regularly by the staff of Brookwood Labor College.

The material will be in the nature of short lessons and topics of urgent interest. The first six issues will be devoted to a survey of American Labor interests of the period since 1913. Any reader desiring to ask questions about the matter presented may write to Arthur W. Calhoun, Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y.

## II. PROBLEMS OF THE WAGE TREND

**A**T last we have the real dope on "real wages." The average employed worker in American industry could buy with his annual pay 28 per cent more in 1924 than in 1890, and 22 per cent more than in 1914, according to the completed findings of Professor Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago, who presented his report at the meeting of the American Economic Association held in New York during the last week in December.

These conclusions contradict the impression given by preliminary reports of Douglas' investigation, which seemed to show that real wages had not gone up since the nineties. Coolidge will doubtless point with pride to the revised figures given above; and the wage-earner may think that Douglas has gone back on Labor and erected a new bulwark for the employing interests in the wage struggle. If the average employee is a fourth better off than he was a generation ago, surely American prosperity is not a merely imaginary blessing.

But wait! Douglas also shows that production per factory worker in 1923 was 52 per cent higher than in 1899, or nearly twice as great a rate of increase as occurred in real wages for the same period. If you want to know where the difference went, the optimist will say that since most of the increase in productivity has occurred since the war, it has not had time to filter into the pay envelope yet but will doubtless find its way there more or less in the course of wage adjustment. There may, however, be other factors in the problem.

For one thing, it is probable that the advantage of the factory worker in respect to productivity is more or less offset by the fact that the growth of industrial population has put heavier demands on

agriculture, so that the quantity of agricultural products that can be got in exchange for a given quantity of manufactured products would be less than formerly. Such a state of affairs would tend to cut down the "real wages" of the factory workers to the extent that the exchange value of their product was reduced.

Moreover there has been a considerable increase in the proportion of workers engaged in making things, so that the output of industry has to be spread over an increased number who come between the original producer and the consumer. This specialization of function may itself account in part for the fact that the factory worker has a bigger per capita output; but it would also mean that the man at the machine could not expect to get all of the increase, which would have to be allotted in part to the specialized trade and transportation workers whose work would have to be lumped with his as responsible for the total product. It is to be observed, indeed, that some of these other workers are getting a smaller real wage than thirty years ago, but this fact is doubtless more than offset by the increase in their numbers as compared with the numbers of other workers.

The presumption is, then, that one reason why the factory worker has not got all the increase of product of factory labor is that he has had to divide up with the farmer (whose product gains a relative scarcity value) and with the "middle men" (some of whom are essential industrial workers). If the farmer pleads that he is not enjoying any such benefits as described, we shall have to ask him whether agriculturists are not, on the whole, at least a little better off than in the nineties. If they are not, then the advantage from the control of agricultural products must have been absorbed by another set of middle-men.

As we saw in our last month's study, there is good reason to suppose that the increase in industrial efficiency does not mean a corresponding gain to Labor as consumer, but is absorbed to a great extent by the propertied interests, with whom many workers are hastening to identify themselves by the accumulation of savings, which seek investment. The quest for income from property is, moreover,

threatening the very life of the economic system. The workers' share of the total income of the country does not increase fast enough to enable the consumers to buy the increasing output, at least not if the workers go in strong for saving. Consequently the market becomes glutted and industrial depression prevails. Unless by some means the workers can manage to increase real wages a good deal faster than they have been doing, the condition of business jam may be expected to get worse and worse.

It is to be noted, of course, that a very large part of the income from control of property seeks reinvestment in industry and thereby adds to the increase of output, thus piling up the deadlock all the faster. Even in industries where the workers are able to get part of the increased output, they can not ordinarily get a proportionate share; so the vicious tangle is not broken.

It would be a good idea if Coolidge's cabinet would do some team-work on this problem. Hoover tells us that the inefficiency of industry must be cut down so that product can be increased. Mellon tells us that we must take off the taxes on the big incomes so that the money will be invested by the magnates instead of spent in wasteful ways by the government. Both these gentlemen think that the thing to do is to increase productivity, and Mellon even seems to think that it would be a good thing to reduce consumption.

Suppose now we get ready to follow their advice. We let Mellon hand over to the financiers all he can get his hands on for reinvestment, and we let Hoover cut out waste, so that industry is 100 per cent effective. But stop! There are two other fellows holding up a signal. Who are they? Closer inspection identifies them as Jardine, Secretary of Agriculture and Davis, Secretary of Labor. Jardine advises the farmers to keep production down for fear they will have to sell the product at an unprofitable figure and Davis reminds us that our industries are overdeveloped and need to be shrunk to a point where they will be able to dispose advantageously of their full output. No wonder that the farmers and the workers are at a loss to know which advice to follow in order to be loyal Republicans.

Is there any way out of the tight place? Certainly mere exhortation from cabinet members will not reveal an escape. The least that would be necessary by way of solution would be to establish some kind of central bureau of control over the whole industrial system—a bureau with authority to see

to it that the output of each industry did not exceed the demand for the product. Such an arrangement would meet Jardine's and Davis's requirements, though they would doubtless refuse to advocate such a measure. They would call it socialistic. But let us suppose that it were put into effect; what next?

What would become of the workers and the equipment discarded from the many "overdeveloped" industries? Davis says that the workers so released should be employed in other industries yet to be developed; and if the machinery and buildings discarded from present industries were not adaptable, we could doubtless draw on Brother Andy's capital fund for the new industries. But suppose all that is taken care of, what then? The workers will still be getting too small a share of the product of industry to enable them to buy the total output, and meanwhile more and more profits will be reinvested so as to increase output to a degree farther and farther beyond the buying power of the consumers.

Do you see now why our captains of industry want to dominate world trade so that they can try their hands at dumping abroad what their own workers do not get enough money to buy after they have saved what ordinary prudence dictates? Such foreign expansion would be a pretty game if only one nation played at it; but England, France, Germany and Japan are in the same fix and other nations are rapidly getting into it too, so that each bunch of capitalists must be ready to tear the other bunch to pieces in order to keep its own place in the sun. Of course we know that they don't actually fly at each others' throats. They have another way of getting the job done. So we have a secretary of war and a secretary of the navy to supplement the noble exertions of the befuddled gentlemen previously mentioned.

The orthodox economists used to tell us that, in the course of time, capital would become so abundant that it could not find remunerative investment and the interest rate would approach zero. If one were philosophically inclined he might speculate as to how long it would be before the capitalist would thus gently fade away. For a long time the economists have not been talking much about the vanishing of the interest rate. Perhaps they see that the problem of reinvestment and more reinvestment has now become a critical one. Perhaps they observe that so long as Labor tends to get a decreasing proportion of the total output, there tends to be greater and greater difficulty in finding a market for staple products. Perhaps, too, they understand



## FOR THEIR SHARE!



*Not only are the workers robbed of the return from their increased production. They are also compelled to battle, and even to starve and freeze, in order to prevent further robbery. Witness: the scenes in the Anthracite and in West Virginia at this very moment. The miners, already working at less than living wages, are forced to lose time and money under the crazy-quilt way in which Big Business conducts Industry.*

that capitalism is not likely to accept the impending doom and evaporate into nothingness.

A new group of economists has arisen meanwhile and has begun to present the problem from the angle we have used in this article. What do they expect? Do they think that the economic system can be put under such effective central control that the output of each article will be adjusted nicely to the current demand for it? If productive equipment increases while the demand for the products lags because the masses do not get sufficient purchasing power, then unless the rich learn how to waste more and more rapidly, the whole system will presently be at a standstill, clogged with goods that can not be sold. Perhaps Stuart Chase's book on the "Tragedy of Waste" will have to be rechristened "The Comedy of Waste." Perhaps the only thing that can keep the system going under present conditions is the fact that the greater part of the energy put into

it is wasted in the course of production or by misuse of the products.

To summarize: Production is becoming more and more efficient; but the consumers are not in a position to absorb the potential output. That means that the product must either accumulate to clog the market or else take the form of instruments of production which will be bought by those who receive income from property. If it takes the latter form, then the difficulty piles up all the faster as the new factories turn out ever more and more goods. Evidently unless there is some way of distributing among the masses all the product of industry except what is necessary for the upkeep and extension of industry itself, the world can not go on. But so far no one has shown how such a result can be achieved unless the workers themselves take hold and wipe out the profit system.

# When is Red, Not Red?

*"When It's Gold," Says Mr. Kellogg, Says He*

By BILL BROWN, BOOMER

**Y**ES sir, friends: As my old pal Sandy Hook ups and says, "Each little color has a meaning all its own."

A guy I knew up in Sandusky, Ohio, once had a nose as crimson as one of them there rambler roses. It was full blown, I'm telling you. As we stood on Sandusky Bay, silent-like, looking at the wild waves, along comes a mysterious stranger, tip-toeing along. Says the stranger to my friend: "Please tell me where booze can be procured?" My friend tells him, and the stranger thanks him. And then, when the stranger steals away, my friend turns to me and says: "I wonder how he knowed that I knowed that." Well, I nearly laughed out loud and only recent reading on one of those there books of etiquette stopped me from answering: "He knows by your nose."

Black and blue on a guy's mug generally leads almost any one to "deduce" that he's been in a joy ride, wood-alcohol party or a try at the manly art of settling arguments by cave man methods. (But I read just the other day, in the Columbus public library reading room—those there libraries are my "Sanctum Sanctorum" or whatever you call it—that the cave man didn't like to hit his neighbors on the bean. The only records we have of him, you understand, show him to be a respectable painter in colors on the walls of his cave. So there you are; colors not being in the habit of lying).

If you happen to be the unfortunate owner of a automobile—at so much and so much a month—you know that red means danger and to stop and green to go—or you ought to. If you don't know it, take my advice and learn it right away. Over in New York, they tried to turn it around a little—just to be different, you understand. They made the green lights mean to stop and the red lights mean to go. Well, there was never such a cussing and dodging and messing-up as went on then, just through a little matter of colors. Visiting "motorists" got a warm welcome, you can bet; mixing up the signals and seeing a horde of trucks come down on them out of nowhere, all just because red was green and green was red.

So, it's kind of important, you understand, to get your colors right. New York found that out and

changed red back to red and green back to green. They've got a wise old saying—that like most wise sayings don't amount to much—that a rose by any other name is just as sweet. But they can't say that a rose by any other color would look the same. Not in a life-time, I'm telling you. So, again, and beyond a doubt: "Colors is important," as Sandy Hook remarks.

Now, we got a guy down in Washington what's got a name that sounds like corn flakes. There are some who say, he's got no corns on his brains from hard thinking. Anyhow, the Hon. Cornflake ups and says, says he: "No furren agitators shall come to these shores. They're all red!" And then, to prove it, he shuts out Countess Karolyi because she's trying to spread American ideas in that there Hungary. We can't stand for an American form of government in Hungary. No siree. It's red! So declares Secretary Cornflake. And that settles it. Because he goes to New York and says it's so because he says it's so—and he won't say anything else and won't give any reasons, for it can't be otherwise.

That Hon. Cornflake is a member of the "Party of American Lincoln." Can't you just see him, though, rolling that name off of his lips? But it seems to me, kind-of, that Abe Lincoln gave that there Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian like Karolyi, a fine reception when he came to America years ago. But our bankers didn't rule the world then, you understand, and the Austrian autocracy wasn't borrowing money from us like Dictator Horthy is doing. Catch the big idea? And Abe was about as much like Cornflake, as Jack Dempsey like a hero.

It's a good thing that Cornflake didn't try to be a railroad man. He'd never have passed the color test. Of course, there's no kicking there; all statesmen are blind, you understand. It's too bad they're not all dumb, too; dumb in the speech-line, I mean.

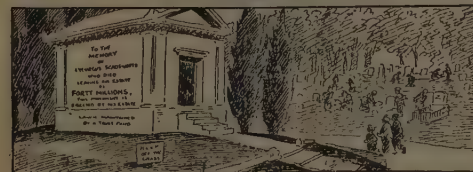
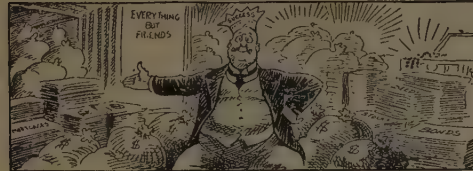
So I just put my brains together and say: "Red is red for Cornflake, when it's not gold." But red is not red for him, when it is gold.

Because—while he was speeching and spouting in New York about all those there crimson colors, Mr. Schwab and Mr. Banker Schley and other big bugs were wining and dinning with those there Bol-



## WE CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION!

THE  
MIND OF  
"OUR"  
BIG  
MEN



HIS GLORY.

As  
Revealed  
by a  
Reactionary  
Paper

**O**CCASIONALLY something or somebody other than fools and children tell the truth. We present herewith for inspection the mind of the "Big Men" of America, as given to the readers of the reactionary CHICAGO TRIBUNE by the cartoonist McCutcheon.

It bears out the thought of Brother Brown on these pages, that the policy of the U. S. Government at the present time is not dictated by the ideals of "Democracy," about which it prates so much, but by considerations of profit. Why is Mussolini recognized and given special favors toward the payment of the Italian debt, for instance, when he spits upon every principle on which America is supposed to be founded—whereas the Karolyis, attempting to establish an American form of government in Hungary, cannot even come into this country? The answer is: that Hungary is now a province of Wall Street, with Mr. Jeremiah Smith dictating to the Hungarian Cabinet, and Italy financially is also on good terms with the men who control Wall Street's money.

shevik business agents of the Soviet government. Nary a word did the Hon. Cornflake shout (or whisper, either) about that.

He heard the clink of gold—and forgot all about "reds."

We got a kind of suspicion anyway, that old Cornflake is a sort of bull-headed "Bull" artist, you understand. And bulls don't like red. Neither four-legged ones nor two-legged ones. But how the blazes did he stand the red in the Union Jack, when he

was over there waiting on the English king and how can he stand the red stripes in our own flag?

Search me! But—oh, yes, it's the red he's trying to pull out of the flag. He wants to make it white—the white of the White Guards. That there flag stands with the red in it, for a political refuge—even for people with opinions. But all I got to say, like Sandy Hook says: "Colors don't lie, but liars will color things." They look at the world through tinted glasses.



By J. F. Anderson of the Machinists

**ABANDON HOPE, ALL YOU WHO ENTER HERE!**



# More About Atterbury "Company Union" Camouflage

By ROBERT W. DUNN

## HE WHO PAYS THE PIPER

*OLD is the saying, "He who pays the paper, names the tune." In Atterbury's "Company Union," as Mr. Dunn reveals, it is the Company which pays the bills. It is the Company, also, which dictates the policy of the workers. There is no collective voice in the determination of wages or hours, or anything else. Claims in that regard are merely camouflage.*

**L**AST month we took a look at the Pennsylvania Railroad Plan of Employee Representation known to workers as the Atterbury Plan because it was introduced by that energetic open-shopper Wilhelm Willful Atterbury, now the president of the road. We saw how the plan was "put over" on the rail workers and how three bona fide workers organizations, the shop crafts system federation, the clerks and the telegraphers were driven from the bargaining table where they had been recognized during the period of Federal operation of the P. R. R. We saw how the men on the line voted by tremendous majorities to keep their union agents at their bargaining posts, but how the General lightly tossed the ballots aside and conducted elections that suited his own fancy. How in carrying out his purposes the General did not hesitate to thumb his nose at Labor Board decisions even to the extent of evoking a severe censure from the United States Supreme Court.

Continuing our observations of the Atterburian tactics we may note first that the labor organizations named above were not the only ones which the General proceeded to liquidate on his 25,000 miles of track. The United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers were backed off the line in much the same manner. Let Decision No. 1833 of the U. S. Labor Board in the clerks' case tell the story in part:

"In still another analogous case has the Pennsylvania System lapsed into a glaring inconsistency. Having refused in a similar way to recognize the Maintenance of Way Brotherhood and having fostered an opposition organization called the Pennsylvania System Fraternity, the carrier proceeds to enter into an agreement with this fraternity. . . . Thus demonstrating again the purpose of the carrier to attempt to break

down these organizations which appear to be chosen representatives of a majority of employees, even though it be found dealing with the new organization in identically the manner in which it refused to deal with the old one."

The Pennsylvania potentates harp continually on their desire to deal with their workers as individuals. And yet they will turn around and deal with the "right kind" of a union collectively. Thus in the case of the "Fraternity" formed by a group of company-controlled dual unionists who seceded from the regular union in 1921, Atterbury & Co. was only too ready to grant immediate recognition. And Grand President Fljozdal is thoroughly justified in reporting to the U. B. of M. of W. E. convention in 1925: "We have every reason to believe that the "Fraternity" is being fostered, promoted and financed by the railway company, which is using it to further its own interests."

## How About the Big Four?

The spokesmen for the Pennsylvania and the supporting employers' journals like the *Railway Age* make much of the fact that the four train service brotherhoods have not been disturbed by the Atterbury plan, and the publicity booklets quote some generalities of a district chairman of one of these brotherhoods expressing approval of the arrangement. One railway owners' organ says that "the train service men are preserving their membership in the brotherhoods . . . and at the same time functioning satisfactorily as Pennsylvania employees operating under the scheme."

What really happened was this. The P. R. R. did not dare treat the four brotherhoods as they have the weaker unions on its lines. The service men were too stoutly organized to permit the tactics em-

ployed by Atterbury against the shop crafts and the clerks. So Atterbury started out by recognizing these unions as formerly and then encouraging them, once they were given assurance of the usual recognition, to accept the regional reviewing committees and other plan frills in the new agreements signed after the expiration of Federal control of the road. In other words Atterbury gave them everything they had before—because they were strong enough to take it—and then flattered them into accepting the general and broad provisions of the plan.

The result of these maneuvers were:

1. The P. R. R. could advertise to the world that the Big Four "went along" with the Plan.

2. The shop crafts and the others were given no support by the brotherhood "aristocrats" in resisting the company Plan.

3. Railroad union solidarity—such as it was during the active days of Plumb Plan agitation—was impaired and Atterbury's plan to drive the Big Four away from co-operation with the other unions was completely successful.

Of course there have been a few exceptions. The progressive editor of the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* once wrote:

"If it is worth twenty-six million dollars to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to put across an Atterbury 'company union', what would a genuine union be worth to the workers on the railroad?"

And *Labor*, the journal of all the railroad organizations, has taken frequent news digs at the P. R. R. Officially, however, the Big Four has been silent. Tangible aid to the striking shop crafts has been refused. The great insurance and banking brotherhoods have not cared to get "mixed up" in Mr. Atterbury's slaughter of the weaker brethren. After all, when a labor bank in floating a block of Pennsylvania stock, it is not "good business" for the union controlling the bank to be skirmishing, even verbally, with the President of that company! A practical illustration of the workings of the new trade union capitalism.

## Introducing the Plan

We have seen what a mockery the road made of majority rule in the various ballots it conducted in violation of the order of the Railroad Labor Board. It is interesting to observe the tactics employed in introducing the plan among those classes of workers most opposed to it and in spite of the almost universal boycott of the ballot by the union men. Among the shop crafts workers of the Southwestern Region, a particularly strong union territory, the General and his staff had more than usual difficulty

in getting the plan under way. After the first Plan election had been staged the "representatives" elected were discovered to be practically all union men. (The General assures the world that union men are acceptable on the committees so long as they act as individuals and not as representatives of their union). The management called them into conference at St. Louis. At first the men refused to attend the conference, contending that they had not sought election under the Plan and they refused to act in the capacity of "representatives." Finally they consented to attend the conference as individuals after they had been assured they would not be asked to take any official action. What followed illustrates strikingly the coercive measures used to "put over" the plan on recalcitrant workers. It is taken from a study made on the ground by a student now teaching at the University of California. The story is declared "absolutely accurate" by a reliable man who attended all the meetings here referred to.

"They met at St. Louis and were shown a proposed agreement similar in general to the one already adopted in the east. This draft was discussed in some detail for two or three days. At the end of that time the men were sent back to their shops without being asked to take any action. Three days later the men were called back to St. Louis. The shopmen were very much opposed to having their fellow workers participate in the Company's system even to the extent of going to St. Louis, but they finally acquiesced. When the men reached St. Louis they met Mr. Henry under orders of the General Manager, Mr. L. W. Geer.\*

"He told them at once that they had come for the purpose of negotiating an agreement and produced the draft which they had already studied. The employees said they would have to have time to consider the matter among themselves, whereupon

\* This is the same L. W. Geer whose letter was read into the records of the Railroad Labor Board by Frank P. Walsh in 1921, during a hearing on a P. R. R. case. Mr. Geer is general manager of the St. Louis-Columbus Division of the road. His letter was as follows:

St. Louis, Mo., March 10, 1921.

"To All Supervisory Employees.—In compliance with the decision reached at a meeting of all general superintendents in St. Louis on March 3rd, it is desired that you acquaint yourselves with the attitude of all employees relative to the proposed reduction in wages scheduled for some time during April, 1921. It is desired that you ascertain as fully as possible the feeling of the employees in regard to this matter, reporting to your superior the results of your investigations along with the source of same.

"In connection with this proposed investigation would advise that you use every available means to get this information, even resorting to defamation of all labor organizations if necessary."



the management withdrew, leaving the twenty-one employees alone in the room. They decided they would not enter into an agreement with the management, and proceeded to draw up a resolution stating that inasmuch as the matter was at that time before the Labor Board for settlement they deemed it unwise to sign any agreement. All but three of the 21 employees present signed the resolution which they presented to the management. Mr. Henry upon reading it declared the meeting adjourned, and the men returned to their homes. . . ."

Now comes the real touch of Atterburian "democracy":

*"On August 8th, a month after the refusal of the elected representatives to act as such, the management put the proposed new set of rules and regulations into effect on the Southwestern Region without any pretense of having first obtained the consent of the employees in any way.*

*"By this order, wages were reduced several cents. The order was signed by the General Manager of the region, Mr. L. W. Geer, but not by any representatives of the employees."*

A rather clear illustration of the company union conception of "collective bargaining."

#### Footing the Bills

The company, of course, puts up the money for the Plan and all its elaborate machinery of committee meetings—and publicity. With the exception of a few instances where the hat has been passed for social and recreational purposes the workers have contributed nothing. It is a free entertainment, a treat "on the company." The "representatives" while in office are paid their shop rate to act as company agents on behalf of the scheme. The rent, printing, elections, stationery, legal advice, travel, hotels, entertainment, statisticians, ten-cent cigars, news releases, are all covered by the company budget and passed on to the public as an item in the "high cost of railroad administration." The company is generous to its agents. Expense accounts can sometimes be padded; as one "representative" put it to the writer: "The boys sometimes till their own gardens on company time." And if there are world series games being played in Pittsburgh or Washington the company is good to the boys and lets them meet about that time. All expenses and "incidentals" are met out of the company treasury. No wonder the "representatives" seek re-election and like the "road work" to which they are assigned.

Part of this travel is entailed in the course of political lobbying on behalf of legislation introduced

by the railroads or against such bills as the P. R. R. deems inimical to its interests. A case in point was the delegation of P. R. R. "representatives" that appeared in Washington in 1924 to attend the hearings on the Howell-Barkley bill backed by the railroad unions and opposed by the railroad owners. One of the committeemen who served the Atterbury interests on that occasion told the writer that the delegation of "representatives" had gone here to submit a brief against the bill. Although he would not admit that the road officials had suggested the expedition he stated that the company had paid all expenses and that a P. R. R. attorney had assisted in drawing up the brief!

Prior to this lobbying journey to the capital a petition against the bill had been circulated among some of the men on the road. They were told that the passage of the bill would mean that the striking shop craft workers would be given their jobs. Naturally the strikebreakers affixed their signatures!

Another legitimate expense entailed by the company in cradling its rump committee during its infant years is illustrated by a dispatch from Washington in 1923 stating that a delegation of P. R. R. "representatives" had been "received in audience" by the President at the White House. And Calvin, it was stated at the time, had taken advantage of this opportunity to "continue his study of the railroad and transportation problems of the country."

#### Economic Propaganda

Not only in legislative lobbying and White House visits, but also in the business of broadcasting railroad owners' views on government ownership have the P. R. R. committeemen served the road heroically. It is not difficult to imagine what economic interests formulated the following resolution attacking the "Labor Press" (the trade union papers of America) and endorsing the P. R. R. philosophy of industry:

"In view of the recent agitation and demand of the Labor Press and of designing political aspirants to force government ownership of railroads. . . .

"We, the representatives of the Association of Shop Craft Employees of the Eastern Region, P. R. System, in convention assembled, assert that such government ownership of railroads is contrary to best interests of the stockholders, the management and the employees . . . and we as employees are unalterably opposed to such ownership as unfair, and against our own best interests, as well as those of our fellow citizens to whom we are desirous of giving our best service, which has always been characteristic of the employees of the great Pennsylvania Railroad."

Dozens of such resolutions attacking the "so-called Progressives," the late Senator La Follette, and others espousing government ownership, have been written by P. R. R. attorneys, signed by company "representatives" and "released" by company "public relations experts."

The mimeographed products of some of these P. R. R. "regional employee associations" resemble the instructions issued by the Sherman Service or the Corporations Auxiliary Co., to their espionage operatives. One bulky packet of "Reference data compiled by the Clerical Employees' Association, Northwestern Region, for members' use in combating unwarranted and misleading political propaganda directed against common carriers" carries all the familiar earmarks of the "constructive" type of detective agency instructions. Referring to La Follette's assaults on railway capitalization the accompanying letter reads:

"The Officers of your Association have studied the matter very carefully and are convinced that we, as an Association and as individuals, should take an active part in correcting wrong impressions that the public is gaining from this agitation."

The "helpful anecdotes and illustrations," the belabored statistics and suggested technique needed to drive home the golden message of private operation of railroads for private profit are then set forth for the use of the clerical Evangels of Light who are to preach "sound economics" among their misguided progressive brethren. Company unions at their logical work; mimeographing and postal bills covered by the carrier; data compiled on company time and at company expense. The "Regional Adjustment Committee" adjusted to the proper pitch to sing the company's song.

#### Church Body Examines the Plan

Agents of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends made an impartial investigation of the plan as it applies to shop craft workers and issued a report some months ago. This is the only disinterested outside group that has looked into the P. R. R. scheme. The investigators found great dissatisfaction over the piece work schedules introduced after the Plan was inaugurated. They found wage levels generally "satisfactory." However, the union position on this point was expressed by an international official at the time:

"When the Company declares that its employees are able to earn good wages, as measured by wages obtained elsewhere it is saying in effect: 'We do not permit employees to join unions for the purpose of collective bargaining, but we wait

until organized labor establishes rates, and then we 'generally' meet these scales when it is necessary to allay discontent and hold our employees.'"

It is also true that the company reclassified large numbers of the men so that the pay for many of them fell below the rates on roads where union conditions prevailed.

With regard to the four main points of their inquiry the church investigators found: (1) The committeemen under the plan very "loyal" supporters of it—this is understandable as we have noted above. Most of them are in line for promotion for services rendered the company as committeemen. (2) The large majority of the workers interviewed were indifferent or unfavorable to the plan. (3) "The employees do not regard the Plan as affording them any real economic power for the purpose of dealing with the Company." (4) The Plan had not yet created much "co-operation" even of the collaboration brand.

In reply to these findings, Atterbury told the world that the workers needed no "economic power" as his men "did not have to strike or threaten to strike to obtain fair play and just treatment," or in other words that the Pennsylvania management was only too happy to act as the benevolent despot of the workers!

It must be remembered that the church investigators made their inquiries at a time when nearly 30,000 of the best shop craftsmen were on strike, as they still are, and their places taken by the Employee Benefit Association type of worker held to his job by various devices developed since the strike of 1922. It is remarkable that conclusions so unfavorable to the Plan should have been reached after interviewing men of this type.

#### Getting Out the Vote

The P. R. R. propagandists always countered with statistics on the large percentage of the force that has taken part in the elections held under the Plan, particularly in the later balloting after the company had disregarded the initial overwhelming majorities cast against the Plan. The Church Council investigator, F. Ernest Johnson, in answering this point hinted at the terrific economic pressure employed by the company to get out the vote:

"The Company had manifestly much at stake in the effort to win public favor for its new labor policy. The supervisory forces apparently felt that it was up to them to get as nearly as possible a 100 per cent. vote."

They didn't get a hundred per cent but quite enough to make a favorable showing to the public. However, Johnson concluded: "That this partici-



pation indicated confidence in the result of the election, or the entire plan of which it was a part, is a wholly unwarranted inference." And he was warranted in making his statement. For dispatches from P. R. R. territory during election seasons tell one a lot about Atterbury's high percentages of voting robots. Here is one from Altoona during the 1923 balloting by the shop crafts workers:

"Men who were not at work were brought to the polls in automobiles. No excuses were accepted, and when workers attempted to 'laugh off' the importance of the event they were given to understand it would be to their interest to present themselves at the polls. All pretense of democracy was thrown aside. The phrases and platitudes that company officials have worn to a frazzle were not heard as the workers were told 'they must vote the ticket.'"

Similar reports were received from other points on the line. The foremen and supervisory officials are always entrusted with the important duty of producing a heavy poll on election days. The results can then be heralded as indicating the "popularity" of the plan among the workers.

#### Other "Service Activities"

The Pennsylvania has developed a number of supporting associations which help to tie up the interests of the workers with the road and make them more amenable to the servitude of "employee representation". Among these organizations is a Provident and Loan Association, a Mutual Benefit Association, a Veteran Employees' Association, a Voluntary Relief Department, a Women's Aid and other units that express the "boost the road" policy of the Pennsylvania. The first two are employed chiefly to interest workers in purchasing stocks and bonds of the road, a device which will prove profitable to the road during any future attempts of the workers to organize into trade unions and strike for better conditions.

The *Railroad Telegrapher* commenting on some of these associations points out that "there are more than a few ways to skin a cat as well as dozens of methods to use in compelling an employee to join a so-called 'voluntary association,' and every method is known to the Pennsylvania." It seems that during the war, when the workers were permitted to organize in real unions it was their first opportunity to be free from the control and espionage of the company officials. So more than ninety per cent of them permitted their membership to lapse in the "voluntary" relief associations. In company reports for 1920 the officials of the P. R. R. complain of this weakening of "morale." As the *Rail-*

#### THE POOR A. T. & T.



Recent moves of the Telephone Trust—as seen by the "New York World." Here, again, a corporation that mulcts the "public," destroys union organization and oppresses its workers.

*road Telegrapher* expresses it: "When the workers were left to their own free will they wanted none of the 'voluntary stuff.' It would be safe to opine that since the unions have been driven off the road and the Plan adopted that the membership in the "voluntary" associations has increased, thanks to the "dozens of methods" used to coerce employees who have no labor union to protect them.

The latest public offense of the P. R. R. is recorded in December, 1925, in a rebuke handed out by the Railroad Labor Board because the road had refused to recognize the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks which had organized the workers in the Chicago Union Station—controlled by the railroad. Said the Board:

"The Chicago Union Station Company and its responsible officers have violated Decision 301 by refusing to comply with the provisions thereof, and is persisting in such violation in contempt of the provisions thereof and in contravention of the public welfare."

The road had refused to hold the election ordered by the Board and still refuses to do so. . . . But the P. R. R. should worry! It has economic strength to defy those departments of the government which it cannot immediately control.

# Correspondence Lessons

*Furnished by Workers' Education Bureau*

By C. J. HENDLEY

## LESSON VIII.

### *Radical Labor Movements in America*

**R**ADICALISM is a very uncertain term. Its meaning to different people depends on their different points of view. Some think it is radical to demand an increase of wages or to strike against a reduction in wages. The workingmen who organized the first unions in the United States were considered dangerous radicals. Those who agitated for the establishment of free public schools were called levelers, which was a name in those days that corresponded to our name bolsheviki. It was charged against those who advocated free schools that they were trying to bring down the best people to their level. At union meetings we often hear members called radical merely because they get into a fighting mood when discussion becomes lively.

However, when we speak of radical labor movements, we have a pretty general understanding that we mean those labor movements that aim to bring about a fundamental change in the condition of labor. They all propose to do away with the wage system, in which the workers serve the employers at so much per hour or per day. They seek to put the job entirely in the hands of the workers. There shall be no employing class and a class of employees; all shall be workers on a basis of equality. The radicals would make it impossible for any one to live merely by owning factories, land, houses, etc.

Of course, there are different degrees of radicalism. Some seek immediate, radical changes regardless of the violence it may cause; others seek gradual changes, but strive to keep up a persistent agitation for them.

#### *The Socialists*

We might classify the radicals into three main groups: the socialists, the anarchists and the syndicalists. The socialists teach that society is in a continuous process of change or evolution. And they see in the present capitalist system forces that are bringing about its destruction and building up new methods of earning a livelihood. The capitalist system has not always been in existence, and must, in the nature of things, give way to a new order. Under the present system, the capitalists own the land, the

machines, and the industrial and business organizations which are necessary to the production of wealth. The great mass of people have no capital to speak of and are dependent on those who have it. They must work for the owners at certain wages and must create a surplus of wealth, the socialists say, over and above their wages. This gives rise to violent antagonisms between the rulers of big business on the one hand and the mass of the wage-earners on the other. There are two tremendous opposing forces: the one seeking to hold and strengthen its hold over labor; the other force, the great mass of working men and women, seeking to free themselves from this mastery and to gain for themselves a greater share in the increasing wealth of the world. This is what the socialists call the class-struggle.

The socialists differ from the anarchists in teaching that the workers should use the powers of the governments of the world in making themselves masters of industry. Just as the capitalists have employed governments to make and enforce the laws that they want, so the workers should follow their example for their own advantage. The moderate socialists hope to unite the labor vote and capture the governments by means of the ballot and change them to suit their purpose. In 1920 they polled 920,000 votes in the United States for Eugene V. Debs, but have declined in numbers since then.

#### *The Anarchists*

The anarchists seem to be very much in agreement with the socialists when they are pointing out and condemning the present inequalities in society. And many of the anarchists agree with the socialists in attributing much of the present injustices to the private ownership of land and capital. Moreover, they would abolish this control by a few over the livelihoods of the many. But they differ from the socialists in that they are opposed to every form of forcible government. They teach that a government controlled by workingmen would be as despotic as a government by capitalists. The only reason for government is that it is a power for imposing the will of one portion of society upon the rest. This the anarchists condemn. They would abolish all forcible control over the individual by society. An an-



archist philosopher, Bakunin, condemned the state in the following words:

"The state is not society, it is only an historical form of it, as brutal as it is abstract. It was born historically in all countries of the marriage of violence, rapine, pillage, in a word, war and conquest. . . . It has been from its origin, and it remains at present, the divine sanction of brutal force and triumphant inequality.

"The state is authority; it is force. . . . Even when it commands what is good, it hinders and spoils it, just because it commands it, and because every command provokes and excites the legitimate revolts of liberty; and because the good, from the moment that it is commanded becomes evil from the point of view of true morality. . . . Liberty, morality, and the human dignity of man consist precisely in this, that he does good, not because it is commanded, but because he conceives it, wills it and loves it."

We should remark at this point that the use of violent means to accomplish a great purpose is no more characteristic of the anarchists than of any other group. Many organizations that uphold the present order of things resort to violence to impose their views on society. No revolutionary group could out-do the terroristic methods that have been employed by nearly all governments to keep themselves in power when their authority was threatened.

The syndicalists differ from both the socialists and the anarchists in that they would have workingmen organize in industrial unions and force their will upon society by means of these unions. They have little more faith in governments than the anarchists. They claim that by controlling the economic power of the country, the workers can get whatever they want without the use of political power. Modern syndicalism rose in France. In America it is represented by the Industrial Workers of the World, who have had an influence on the American labor movement greatly out of proportion to their *organized* numbers. Their power lies first in their great zeal, energy, and devotion to liberty and, second, in their strong appeal to the great mass of unskilled or semi-skilled and unorganized workers who suffer most from capitalist exploitation. They were organized in Chicago in 1905.

### *Radicals in America*

As you should have perhaps learned by this time, from Mrs. Beard's "Short History of the American Labor Movement," all three of these groups of radicals have had representation in America. See pages 113 to 149. Perhaps there is more potential anar-

chism in America than in other countries. We have not had so many anarchist philosophers as Europe has had; but our extreme individualism makes for anarchism rather than socialism. From the time of Jefferson, who argued that the least possible government was the best government, to the present we have had able opponents of any extension of governmental functions. And it is notorious that big business has been more or less defiant toward government. The I. W. W.'s contempt for political action has its counterpart in the business element that is forever clamoring against governmental regulation of business.

As early as 1825 there was a socialist movement in this country founded by Robert Owen, a wealthy Englishman who visited the United States for that purpose. Socialist colonies were founded which flourished for a time. In 1829 workingmen organized labor parties, which was a radical departure for that time. However, they did not flourish very long. One of their candidates created alarm in New York by advocating that the state establish free schools where handicrafts and morals, but not religion, be taught; that husband and wife be made equal before the law; that a mechanics lien and bankruptcy law be passed; and that all laws for the collection of debts be gradually repealed. (S. P. Orth, "Armies of Labor," p. 223.) During the forties various socialistic schemes had their enthusiastic and influential supporters.

The abolitionist movement might be considered a part of the American labor movement as its purpose was not only to eliminate the injustice done to the negro but also to enhance the dignity and the well-being of free labor. But this movement under the leadership of William Lloyd Garrison was so revolutionary that even Lincoln would not identify himself with it. In fact, he took great pains to inform the public that he did not approve of the demand of the abolitionists that the slaves be set free immediately. The abolitionist movement was carried on by a small minority.

After the failure of the European revolutions of 1848, many European socialists came to this country and formed a nucleus, out of which grew the Socialist Party of later years. During the seventies the Socialist Labor Party was formed; and ever since the American Federation of Labor was formed in the eighties, there have been socialists and syndicalists within its ranks striving vainly to guide it toward radical programs.

The following figures show the number of votes cast by the socialists in recent presidential elections

and indicate the strength of the politically-minded radicals in this country. Of course, many of these voters are not identified with the labor movement.

1900.....	95,000
1904.....	402,000
1908.....	421,000
1912.....	897,000
1916.....	585,000
1920.....	920,000

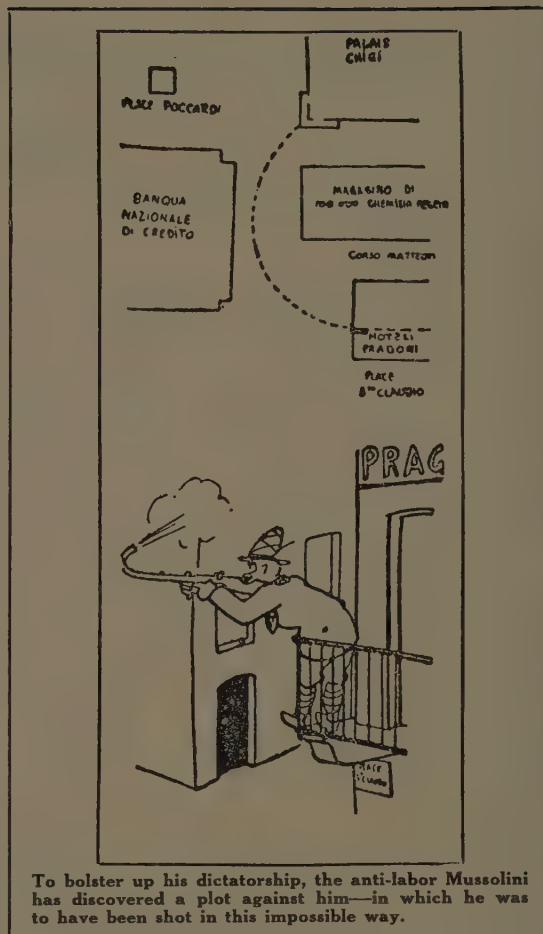
In 1924 the socialist party joined with other elements in voting for La Follette. He polled nearly 5,000,000 votes, many of which were conservative labor votes. We have no evidence that the radical labor element has gained a great deal in numbers.

### *The Left Wing*

However, there is a well-defined radical, or left-wing movement within the ranks of organized labor. It is made up of communists, or revolutionary socialists and syndicalists. The following statistics may be taken as an index of its numerical strength. In the vote for the Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in 1924, the left-wing candidate polled about 9,000 votes to 17,000 votes for the lowest candidate elected to the Board. In the carpenters' union the vote for president of the union was 9,000 for the left-wing candidate to 34,000 for another candidate, and 78,000 votes for Hutcheson, the successful candidate. In the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union the left-wing strength is greater. In the recent emergency national convention of that union the conservative element won by a rather narrow margin. The figures we give here concerning the clothing workers and carpenters are taken from the American Labor Year Book of 1924-1925.

But the strength of the minority cannot always be measured accurately by numbers. A well-organized and aggressive minority can often exercise an influence far beyond its proportion of the membership. However, there is no evidence that the American labor movement is faced with a split in its ranks, or that the present administration of the American Federation is seriously threatened. President Green addressed the International Ladies' Garment Workers in their recent convention, and congratulated them on their left-wing element. He said there was more danger in an organization that is administered by conservatives without opposition than in one that contains an aggressive radical minority.

The left-wingers are boldly attacking trade agreements with employers, labor banking and other forms of co-operating with the employing class.



To bolster up his dictatorship, the anti-labor Mussolini has discovered a plot against him—in which he was to have been shot in this impossible way.

They hate the tendency of conservative labor leaders to ignore the class-struggle. They emphasize the importance of arousing in labor a class-consciousness, and constantly appeal to the fighting instinct in man. They clamor for militant tactics and boldly declare that their aim is to stir up a revolutionary movement that will result in a working-class dictatorship, which in turn will destroy the present system of industry and establish communism.

### *A Suggestion for Further Study*

If you have read Mrs. Beard's book by this time, you might try to secure from your local library a copy of John A. Fitch's "The Causes of Unrest." This is one of the clearest analysis of the present situation in regard to labor that has been published. Perhaps your local library will buy the book if you request it.



# The Worker's Diet

By YAFFLES

## TOO BAD!

**Y**AFFLES, the pen name for an English labor writer, herewith contributes a humorous article on the English situation—which has many things in common with our own. We see, through Yaffles' sarcastic lines, that the English Tory anti-labor press is about as stupid as our own. It puts us a little closer to our English brothers to get a glimpse of their problem from a more or less humorous view of their enemies.

**I**T is my painful duty to address a few remarks to the working class on the subject of food.

I do it entirely for their own good, painful though it is, for I have always had the interests of the poor at heart. In fact, speaking as one of the Yaffles (of Yaffle), I am proud to say my family has always shown the liveliest interest in the poor. It was Sir Marmaduke de Yaffele who, in the twelfth century started the first welfare movement in England by refusing to follow the inhuman practice of hanging peasants up by their thumbs. He cut their heads off instead. This step aroused the anger of the reactionaries of his day, as decapitation was then the privilege of the upper classes. It was regarded as a dangerous encouragement of insubordination and ca' canny, and a breaking down of class barriers. For this he was afterwards known as "Marmy the Mixer." I just mention this to show that what I have to say is inspired only by my desire for the workers' well-being.

Now it is clear to me that the time has come to warn the workers that their luxurious habits and high living must cease.

These things must be said. If the workers' own leaders will not say them, I must. We Yaffles have never hesitated to utter unpalatable truths and I shall not hesitate now.

In this instance I am encouraged in my duty by a plain-spoken utterance in the (London) EVENING STANDARD:

"Politicians are afraid to say what most people know, namely, that it is the cost of transport, the too high wages paid to lorry men, railway porters, carters, packers, and dock-laborers that swell the price between the field and the consumer."

Our courageous contemporary then quotes evi-

dence given before the Food Commission, showing that "before the war a man would be content with a stew of not the best meat. Now he demands a roast of the best parts of the animal, *with two vegetables.*"

This prodigality is one of the evil effects of the war, which "accustomed the five or six million men with the colors to plentiful food of the best quality."

Now what does this point to? What is the bearing of cuts from the joint and two vegetables on the industrial situation? Merely this (I quote the EVENING STANDARD):

"No one would grudge the working class their first-class meals if one did not know that they depend on wages that must ultimately ruin many of our staple industries, and that cannot therefore be continued."

## Why Meat?

We see, then, that either our staple industries must be ruined or else the working class must cure themselves of this—I can only call it a Vice—of joint and two vegetables.

It is not likely that this abuse will be eliminated voluntarily. So long as they have the means to buy them, joints and two vegetables will continue to disgrace the workers' table and ruin our industries. Wages must be brought down to a level of morality and hygiene, so that the debauchery to which we have referred is impossible, and self-control becomes once more the characteristic of the working class.

I do not suggest that this should be done at one stroke. Just as it is dangerous to deprive a dipsomaniac of his alcohol suddenly, so must we cure the working class of the joint and two vegetables-habit by slow degrees, adjusting the wage standard by a sliding scale from two to one vegetable, from one vegetable to joint only, from joint to scrag end, and so back to stew and the revival of trade.

Having got back to the stew, however, we arrive logically at this question: Why need the working class have meat at all?

It is here that science joins hands with economics in advocating the return to the simple life. Man, we learn, is a frugivorous animal. He is—with the exception, of course, of the best families—biologically classified with anthropoid apes, which, having teeth and internal organs identical with man, subsist on nuts, seeds, grains, and other natural products.

Meat, therefore, is not necessary. Look at the Chinese. Does it not shame the Anglo-Saxon worker

to know that the Chinese work many more hours a day than he does on nothing but a handful of rice?

It is clear from the statements of leading business men that wages ought to be eliminated altogether if trade is to revive.

## Alas! Stomachs Continue

We cannot attain to that ideal yet, unfortunately, owing to the persistent refusal of working-class women to bear children that have no stomachs. (As

WELL! WELL!



*They persistently refuse to have children without stomachs*



*That frugivorous feeling*



*Marmy the Mixer*

"Live off fruit and you will feel peppery"—that's the meaning of "frugivorous!"

Dean Inge said recently: "You cannot make a silk purse out of sow's ear, and a large section of the masses are hopelessly ineducable.") But we can get as near as possible to it by a scientific readjustment of the workers' diet.

You all know the old song, "It is the roast beef of old England that made us what we are today."

And what, pray, are we today? A nation with dying industries and a second-rate commercial position. So much for beef.

In all the natural history books I ever read there is not one mention of anthropoid apes ever losing their commercial supremacy.

Why, then, are not the workers told to eat cheap farinaceous foods like rice, instead of expensive flesh foods for which they are biologically and ancestrally unfitted, and the cost of which is ruining our industries? Simply because their leaders wilfully neglect to instruct them in the relative properties of natural and animal foods.

How often do we hear a trade union officials instructing the rank and file as to the correct proportion of carbohydrates and proteins essential to adequate nutrition? Never.

## Ruin!

I assert, therefore, that if the subject of food values were accorded its proper place in industrial affairs, the worker might be subjected to a 500 per cent wage-cut without noticing it. More than that—he would like it, particularly if he had only one meal a day. He would be healthier and happier, for abstemiousness is the secret of happiness. So long as we pay railway porters the huge sum of \$10 a week; so long as we encourage dockers to insensate debauchery by giving them 12 shillings a day for nearly two days a week, we shall never make them abstemious nor save our industries from ruin.

By instructing the working classes, then, in the paramount virtues of nature's own produce, such as rice and watercress, varied on Sundays by a preparation of my own—Proxo-nut (ask your grocer for it) we could reduce the workers' budget to next to zero for a family of five. By that means we should only save wages and consequently the Empire's trade, but the workers would be happier and stronger.

Today, the miner goes off to work lethargic and bad-tempered, owing to having overfed himself on meat, fish, eggs and liqueurs. This over-indulgence in rich foods is inevitable on a wage of almost nothing a week.

I look forward to the day when, on a wage of nothing, the miner goes tripping gaily off to the pit, happy in the knowledge that the globulin in his blood is maintained in free solution by the combined action of the potassium salts and formaldehyde in the watercress and lemon-juice he had for breakfast.



# Labor History in the Making

IN THE U. S. A.

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

## FURTHER STEPS TOWARD UNITY

**I**T IS cause for rejoicing that the American unions are sinking those differences which are likely to arise in any movement, and are clearing the decks for further aggressive action.

The unity pact between Cap Makers and Hatters and the agreement between Plasterers and Bricklayers have been followed by peace between the International Pocketbook Workers and the United Leather Goods Workers. This has been achieved by President Green in a unique way—the Pocketbook Workers being admitted as a federal union and other steps outlined that will lead to a common policy for the two bodies.

This happy outcome brings another industrial union into the A. F. of L., to take its place beside the miners, textile workers and the other needle trades unions. Ossip Walinsky, its

general manager, stated in his report to the December convention that the meeting "will strengthen and promote this gospel of industrial unionism"—as it did decide to do.

At the I. L. G. W. U. convention, President Green made a further plea for unity within that organization's ranks. "Militant radicalism," he declared, "is better than dry rot"—and appealed to all groups, regardless of their views, to act in accord.

All of these events are putting new life into the workers. Nothing kills hope so much as senseless division. Nothing makes for progress against the common enemy more than unity. Another great step, crowning the patient work of the President of the A. F. of L., would be conciliation between the United Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and final agreement in textiles.

## THE VALUE OF SHOP ECONOMICS

Central Bodies: Please Take Notice

**T**HOSE who have read *LITTLE DORRIT* will not easily forget the helpful Mr. Pancks and his famous phrase: "I'm Pancks, the Gipsy, fortune telling."

A Mr. Pancks of the Labor Movement would have little trouble in foretelling that much of the future fortune of that movement lies in practical workers' education—particularly that form known as "shop economics."

Central bodies everywhere should become familiar with those classes, as they have been conducted in Philadelphia. They hold the key to success in union action.

In the December *MACHINISTS' JOURNAL*, E. J. Lever, secretary of the Philadelphia Labor College, hammers home some facts worthy of quotation.

"Times have changed," he writes. "We can no longer demand wage increases and get them simply

because we want them. The employers are organized to prevent just that." Therefore:

"If we are to succeed we must prove to them beyond doubt that our demands are justified in every way. With modern powers of publicity favoring the employers' side, we must state our case so clearly that public opinion will favor us rather than the employer. What is more, we must prove to them that we are not the dumb-bells we are usually taken for, simply because we are workers, and that we understand the economics of the industry employing us as well, if not better, than the employer does. This method of negotiating compels the employer to respect the union—and that is half the battle.

"In short, the officers and members that have floundered around in a maze of ideas, puzzled as to which is best for them to follow, may, by systematically studying their industry lead themselves out of indecision and despair towards an intelligent understanding of the forces surrounding them, which naturally leads to clarification of ideas and suggestion as to the best methods of rebuilding the movement on a firmer and more effective basis.

"The study of shop economics by union men does this very thing. It may be definitely stated that the unions which have undertaken such study groups have made real progress. As proof of their interest, they are continuing their studies in

## LABOR AGE

economics from year to year and everyone of them is enthusiastic in their praise of Workers' Education."

For success in these classes, these points are essential, we are told:

"Three motives must be borne in mind for success with study groups in shop economics. The first is the training of officers and members in the best methods of organizing the unorganized. The second is to educate the membership to a social or organization point of view, as against the individualistic spirit of each member, which hurts the union spirit in the shop and in the union meeting; the third, is to train the local officers and active members in the proper and most effective methods of negotiating with employers for improved conditions.

"All three points are conscientiously striven for by instructor and students. The given facts of the industry, showing distribution of gross income, waste, overhead, cost of materials, wages paid and profits, lead to a comparison of what wages might be paid were the workers properly organized and therefore effective in their demands. These facts are supplied to members in simple readable form for use in the shop to drive home to the unorganized the necessity for, and the logic of joining the union.

"Then the inequalities in shop rules and earnings are brought out, which tend to maintain that spirit of individualism. Methods of maintaining shop unity are discussed, together with those used by the employers to foster individualism and therefore anti-unionism. The members are trained in the use of facts in presenting their demands to employers and to negotiate intelligently for the union."

More "shop economics" classes are the present need. With them will come intelligent and militant action. We will be glad to co-operate in any way possible to make them realities.

### LOOKING INTO RADIO

A NEWSPAPER with some wit to its credit remarks, anent recent naval disasters—that too many of our submarines are—submarine. Equally might we say that too much of our radio business is "up in the air"—out of the reach of any agency except the electric group in control.

The complaint is already well-founded that the air is no longer free. It is passing into the grip of the radio trust. To send forth a message through the air, the wishes of this newly risen, but strong trust must be consulted.

Lately, the Typographical Union has been looking into union broadcasting. This remarkable unit of Organized Labor—which is a fine exhibit of what strong organization can achieve—could logically take the lead in the effort at broadcasting. Its business-like conduct of its own affairs—which has given its members a good wage, a home for the ill and numerous other benefits—is an augury of the success it could make of radio-ing Unionism to the four corners of America.

But inquiry reveals a snag. The Typographical Union discovers that the Western Electric Company

## THE WHITEWASH



Mr. Mellon's Aluminum Trust is coated thusly, according to the "New York World."

was anything but eager to sell the Union broadcasting equipment. The company would only allow certain things in connection with the use of the instruments, on which it holds the patents. While its prohibitions did not seem "vital" to the Union, the continued control by the company of the equipment made it entirely too hazardous for the Union to invest the large sum of money needed, to build up a station. Any day this private corporation might swoop down on the Union with new prohibitions and new demands.

The TYPOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL thinks that Organized Labor as a whole ought to take up the matter, while the radio is still in its infancy. The big baby that it has become so soon indicates what a power it will become—before long. President Lynch is quoted as saying:

"Opponents of unionism are losing no time about utilizing this tremendous new medium for propaganda spread. The Illinois Manufacturers' Association is making a sustained publicity drive, using the radio. 'Tell your home folks to tune in on the noon-hour programs,' says a message issued by industrial plants, members of the association. Here are some of the topics discussed in those programs: 'The Shop Agitator,' 'The Easiest Way for a Factory Employee to Own His Own Home,' 'The Popular Man in the Factory,' 'Americanization,' 'Interest of Employees in Total Manufacturing Output,' 'Sports and Exercise.' Heavily freighted with poison gas against the labor movement are these little talks to workers. Many factories have installed receiving sets with loud speakers in lunch rooms and rest rooms to facilitate dinning union-hatred into the ears of employees. Unionism certainly cannot afford to leave this field to its insidious and sleepless foes."

Nothing could be better said. The suggestion of the TYPOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL is that all great unions



should be equally interested in radio, and a group of unions or the A. F. of L. itself should take up the question.

The printers are right. Here is a big menace to Unionism—or a big aid. At present, it is in the hands of those unfriendly to Labor. It ought to be freed—for all. A free air is as essential for democracy as a free press.

#### FIGHTING OUT-OF-WORK

A COLORED lady, so a story goes, came to her lawyer to ask for a divorce. "Don't you want it arranged so that you can marry again?" he asked. "No sah," she replied, "Ah wants to be withdrawn from circulation."

The organized workers, also, want to be withdrawn from circulation—from unemployment circulation. They are setting their hearts and efforts on wiping out the out-of-work curse which perennially turns up to strike the laboring man and woman. In a number of states, agitation is on to create unemployment insurance, set up and supervised by the state. While this is being waged, the unions themselves in many instances have not waited for such state action. They have created their own unemployment schemes, in which the industry must share its burden. Among the plans now in operation, according to the Labor Bureau of New York, are the following:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Chicago, Ill., (men's clothing); approximately 35,000 workers.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York, N. Y., (men's clothing); approximately 40,000 workers.

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Cleveland, O., (women's clothing); approximately 4,000 workers.

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, New York, N. Y., (women's clothing); approximately 50,000 workers.

Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America, Scranton, Pa., and Kingston, N. Y., (lace curtains); approximately 100 workers.

United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers of America, St. Paul, Minn., (cloth hats and caps); approximately 200 workers.

United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers of America, New York, N. Y., (cloth hats and caps); approximately 3,000 workers.

United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers of America, Philadelphia, Pa., (cloth hats and caps); approximately 500 workers.

United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers of America, Chicago, Ill., (cloth hats and caps); approximately 700 workers.

United Wall Paper Crafts of North America, 19 scattered plants, (wall paper); approximately 400 workers.

In some instances the employers and workers join in furnishing the unemployment fund, through contribution of a small percentage of the wage fund. In other instances, the employers pay all and the employees control the entire operation of the plan. In every instance, the effect of the establishment of the scheme has been to put to flight the insecurity of the workers. It is one of the finest achievements of Organized Labor.

#### IN OTHER LANDS

##### BRITAIN—IN A NUTSHELL

RECENT events of interest in the Labor World of Britain include:

Completion of the constitution of the National Trade Union Alliance, despite the temporary withdrawal of the National Union of Railwaymen—which smashed the first Triple Alliance five years ago. The N. U. R. backed out this time, because its amendment to encourage "fusion" of all the unions was not accepted.

J. H. Thomas of N. U. R. accepts "compromise" on wages, suggested by National Board for Railroads—after hearings on demand of roads for wage cuts. Under award, present employees will retain present wages; but new workers, taken on after February 1st, come in at a reduced scale.

The conviction of twelve Communists for "sedition" has led to a bitter protest from the Labor Party and the trade unions against the "destruction

of British liberty." In an eloquent speech in the House of Commons, Ramsay MacDonald declared that the convicted men were being punished solely for their opinions. He pointed to the numerous private anti-labor organizations actively drilling for civil war; and denounced the Home Secretary, Joynson Hicks, as "the arch-seditionist" for encouraging these bodies and for his disloyal statements against government policy in 1913.

Drilling of "special constables" under government auspices is being carried on at a great rate. Further light has been thrown upon the fact that a Conscription Act is still on the books—under which any householder can be compelled to undertake service as a "special constable," in an industrial dispute.

Walter Citrine, on assuming office as temporary Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, points to the methods of organized violence now being rigged



## TEXTILE WORKERS, ATTENTION!

Bombay, India, Strikers Win

**F**ROM far-off Hindustan comes news of victory. After a battle of months that attracted the attention of workers and capitalists throughout the world, the 150,000 textile strikers of Bombay have won.

The Employing Interests — first demanding a 20 per cent. cut in wages, and then reducing the demand to 11½ per cent.—have been forced to withdraw all proposals for reductions.

The strike received unusual financial support from the International Federation of Trade Unions and the British organizations. Following the revolt of the Chinese textile workers and the smashing victory in the British wool industry, the Bombay outcome is a hopeful sign for textile workers in America. In that field lies one of the biggest challenges to the movement in this country.

up by the Government and Big Business to attack the unions, and predicts a period of "semi-revolutionary strikes," as a result. These strike-breaking agencies are new to Britain.

The Wool Textile Workers have supplemented their victory in the 1925 strike by a favorable decision from the Court of Inquiry on wool wages. The court decided against any wage cut—the award running until January 1, 1927.

## "NO WAGE COURTS FOR US!"

**A**UTHORITY, like success, does most frequently make a man heady. Courts and Boards, by and large, everywhere serve faithfully the Employing Interests and bind tighter the band which blinds the eyes of Justice.

Our experience in America with the Railroad Labor Board and the Sacred Cow at Washington are repeated elsewhere in about equal measure. German workers report like treatment from the "Conciliation Courts" of that country. They conciliate only the employer.

A general meeting of representatives from the district branches of the German Trade Union Centre, the German Federation of Non-Manual Workers and the Civil Servants' Federation was held at Berlin recently, to discuss these courts. The delegates agreed that the judgments of the Conciliation Courts show the authorities to be the allies of the

employers in the energetic fight which the ruling parties are carrying on against the working classes, a fight which is more intense than ever this year.

"The acquiescence of the National Ministry of Labor in the employers' wage and social policy is as clear as daylight," says the I. F. T. U. "In a great many cases it is clearly discernible that there seems to exist a tacit understanding between the government, the conciliation authorities and the employers. The work of the German conciliation courts has been such that they cannot rightly be called arbitration courts at all, but rather official machinery for the fixing of wages. The decree making resort to the conciliation courts compulsory restricts, the right to strike and unfair compulsory awards are made. In view of all this, the German trade unions will doubtless take good care in the future to resort to the arbitration courts as little as possible, and to force the employers to resume free negotiation as in pre-war days instead of taking shelter behind the conciliation courts."

"Put not your trust in Princes," was said a long time ago. "Put not your trust in courts," is the new moral. The Germans evidently are through with this court bunkum.



## THE LOCARNO PEACE PACT

As seen by the "New Leader"—English Labor paper.



## GERMAN UNIONS ENDORSE WORKS COUNCILS — IF

SOMEWHERE we have read: "The 14-year-old child is 11 when buying a railroad ticket and 16 when driving a car." Yes, that's about right. It all depends on the way of putting it—and looking at it.

Now, works councils are much the same. In the grip of the Employing Interests, they are one thing; under union control, they are another.

In Germany that is an important question; for works councils exist there, by reason of law. One of the permanent acts of the German Republic—one of its first acts—was their creation. Being compulsory for every industry and factory, the employers lost no time in attempting their capture. The unions, however, were not asleep. They made haste to see that the councils were not lost to Unionism; that they were to be maintained as real instruments of further democracy.

At the historic Trade Union Congress at Leipzig in 1922—at which the "to be or not to be" of Communism was also threshed out—German Unionism laid down certain rules for the functioning of works councils. Under these conditions, it called for their support by the trade unions.

Now we learn—from the reports of the September meeting of the General Confederation of German

Trade Unions at Breslau—that these moves have been successful. Although the employers are still striving to undermine union control of the councils.

By resolution, the Breslau meeting said:

"The works councils have proved their value as part of the German trade union movement. It is the duty of the unions and all unionists to continue to help them in every way in the fulfillment of their obligations.

"The trade unions alone can successfully preserve the right to share in control. This is an important part of the rights of labor, and must be extended by collective agreements and legislation. The strained efforts of employers to estrange the works councils and the trade unions, and by works alliances and agreements to exclude the trade unions from taking part in the determination of conditions of work and wages are directed against the right to share in control, and the whole of labor must continue to oppose them.

"The Congress formally holds to the principle that only the trade unions can be considered to be the upholders of collective labor rights. It maintains that any attempt to recognize works agreements in the future collective agreements Act as collective agreements should be fought to the utmost by the unions, and unconditionally opposed."

So, there the issue stands. During the post-war depression, Organized Labor between the Rhine and the Oder held its grip on the councils. In the future its task should be easier.

## FALL RIVER'S SAD STATE — AND WHY

MAYOR TALBOT of Fall River, Mass., has just said a mouthful. It is time that somebody, in official life up there, should say something. Fall River is a decaying city, filled with decaying men and women. In the March LABOR AGE the plight of the textile workers—caught in the trap of the mill town and held like prisoners—was brought to light.

But to return to Mayor Talbot. All New England is talking "textile depression"—and doing nothing. The mill owners—moss-grown in conservatism—have one suggestion and one only: Further cuts in wages. President Green of the A. F. of L. has been moved to challenge any such "solution." Already paid less than a living wage, the mill workers cannot be beaten down to the level of helot labor. Unorganized workers can note that it is only the voice of Organized Labor which rings out in defense of their rights.

But—there is also Mayor Talbot. Wages are not the trouble, says he. Taxes are not. New England living costs are not. The trouble, as he sees it, is something else: WASTE.

Old equipment and decrepit machinery are to blame. Old-time production and ancient selling

methods are at fault. So declares His Honor. The mill owners have held on, with a vice-like grip, to the customs of their ancestors. They have persisted in using old machinery, because it is more "economical."

There are forty corporations in Fall River, operating twice as many mills. Half a dozen groups or less could run them easily. With one treasurer, one superintendent and one selling agent for each group. Twenty or thirty over-paid treasurers, superintendents and selling agents could be eliminated. One purchasing agent per group would also fill the bill.

Thus argues Mayor Talbot. And with good reason. It is waste that curses New England—waste at the top. A general clean-up is needed. The A. F. of L. has demanded that for industry as a whole. The United Textile Workers demand it for this industry in particular. Mayor Talbot O.K.'s the idea. We hope that the message may reach the unorganized—and stir them to organization and to demand the fundamental reorganization of textiles in New England.

The only program that the mill owners have to offer is wage cuts and more of them. Textile workers, wake up! No hope lies in the present situation.

# *Tell Your Neighbor!*

**PUBLIC OPINION IS FORMED, NOT ONLY BY THE  
NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE — BUT BY  
THE SPOKEN WORD AS WELL**

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**POLITICAL LEADERS CAN TELL YOU THAT**

**It's Up to You to Spread the Facts About the Employers'  
Schemes and Labor's Accomplishments**

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## **DOES YOUR NEIGHBOR KNOW:**

(For Example)

- ❑ That the anti-union Pennsylvania is establishing a world's record for rail accidents?
  - ❑ That its "Company Union" is a fake — the Company dealing with its men merely as individuals?
  - ❑ That the Rockefeller "Employees' Representation" Plan has been declared a failure by an impartial agency?
  - ❑ Of the thousand and one deeds of Organized Labor for the unorganized?
- 

**Tell Him About These Facts — and Get Them From**

## **LABOR AGE**

**WE ARE FURNISHING THEM IN SHORT AND SNAPPY FORM**

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